2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

Neither *Jilungilakuni* nor any of the Bathurst Islanders performed spirited dances to these songs. The leader, impersonating a *Ningaui*, walked round the *milimiku* with awkward, bent gait, either beating his music sticks together or holding his hands tightly against his sides with his fingers outstretched (Pl. 30E).

Following the *Ningaui* songs, the men lit a fire at the base of a eucalyptus tree which *Katapi*, *Nangrinini*, and several other relatives of the dead man, climbed to perform the rite of *wandiatapinda*. As each man slid down the trunk, the aborigines called the totemic place of Wailu, and the names of rain, thunder and lightning. Later, the men performed the rain dance (Pl. 30B) in the *milimiku*, while the women, coming in from the side, danced the *amburu* (Pl. 30F).

(ii) *The Mission Lugger Songs and Dances*

The dances started with a long *ai, ai, ai*, which announced that the boat had been sighted. Then, while the men danced the sail of the boat, with their hands held above their heads, the leader chanted—

"The waves beat the sides of the boat, but it goes straight on."

With high prancing steps and hands rotating one over the other, the aborigines mimed the engines and the propeller of the lugger.

"The engines spark together as the waves hit the side of the boat."

Other songs, to which the performers danced the relevant actions, were—

"The wake of the lugger."

"The lugger is on the slips ready to be painted."

"We are scrubbing off the old paint and giving it a new coat."

Every time *Katapi*, the son of the dead man, took part in the dance, the women set up a wail.

At the conclusion of the boat songs, the men and women took part in the *pumuti*, lightly beating each other's spouses and their relatives with boughs.

(iii) *The Jabiru Songs and Dances*

The last series of dances were given by a middle-aged Bathurst Island man, *Nilitama*, who imitated, with humorous gesticulation and much abandon, the antics of the long-legged jabiru, *Tjalati* (Pl. 29A), as it walked, fished and rested in the lagoon.

The words of the *Tjalati* song were—

"When *Tjalati* lifts one leg, he is ready to fly."

At the conclusion of the *Tjalati* dance, the *ilania* ended with the honey and mosquito calls.

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After a pause, another aboriginal entered the ring and sang about the previous singer's dead father. 881 765

(e) "My stomach gets hot like fire,[88] when I think of you, my uncle." [533] Some of the women cried when the song was finished. [539]

(7) *Cooking the Kulama Yam*

When the fire had burnt down to a bed of coals, the men picked up the fragments of burning wood, throwing them in all directions, scraped out the glowing embers with sticks, brushed the ashes from the heated termite mound with boughs, and the oven was ready for cooking the *kulama* yams. Meanwhile, one of the men had bound the rushes into a rope, *imbini*, about an inch in diameter, and sufficiently long to encircle the oven. The fragments of heated termite mound were lightly sprinkled with water, the *imbini* rope coiled around them, the yams carefully arranged on top and the whole covered first with thin sheets of newly split paper-bark, then with sand. Care was taken to cover the yams properly, otherwise, the aborigines explained, *asini*, the *kulama* sickness, would escape and cause blindness to the immediate participants. 252 881

As the oven was being covered, the leader patted the sand to consolidate it (Pl. 442), chanting at the same time, "Brr, Brr, Goodbye, Grandmother, goodbye",[89] in the same way as the owl-man, *Purujikini*, did at the first *kulama*. 881 [533] [539]

While the yams were being cooked, the *kulama* people performed the following dances, to the rhythm of sticks beaten by the women. 535 881

(a) The dance of *jiriwa* (silver-crowned friar-bird). [534]

(b) Two crocodiles, *jirakupai*, fighting (Pl. 302), followed by two aborigines as crocodiles crawling in the sand.

(c) A crocodile; the dancer carrying the goose-feather ball (*tokwianga*) in his mouth to symbolize the prey of the crocodile.

(d) The green turtle with the hands and arms of the dancer moving in imitation of the turtle's flippers.

Two young women, when asked to dance, performed:

(e) The crocodile, *jirakupai*,

(f) The buffalo,

(g) The shark (Pl. 300).

[88] The stomach, or solar-plexus, is the location of the *imunta* (spirit), and the seat of the emotions. [826] [774]

[89] The *kulama* yam is looked upon as a female when it is dug up, placed beside the swinging-poles tree and immersed in the water for the first time. When taken from the swamp it is male, again becoming female from the time it is put in the oven until it is eaten. [824]

884 are allowed to dig the yam. A special dance area, or cere-
460 monial ring, is cleared on the ground and a special cook-
535 ing fire is built in its center. On each of the three ceremonial
305 days the participants paint themselves in specified ways
884 with ocher. During the evening of each day, while the yams
533 are soaking or cooking, the male participants, singly or
534 together, walk slowly counterclockwise around the cere-
monial fire, beating sticks together as an accompaniment
to specially composed songs. At times the wives, who re-
main outside the ring, sing with the men, or they may join
535 their husbands in traditional dances that imitate various
aspects of the natural world around them.

The songs are a vital part of the ritual. They must be newly composed for the occasion and may relate to any event or abstract idea the composer chooses. The songs
154 often deal with injustices the singer has experienced in the past year, about which he wishes to register an "official" complaint:

539 "There was a funeral,
You went first, I came after.
Old people came in first.
I was late because I had a *Kulama*.
Why didn't you wait for me?"

or

"When Dory have baby girl
The old man said, 'That's for you.'
Dory, my mother-in-law, she burns me.
Dory doesn't know the old people way.
I would like to kill her."

Others may be in the nature of news reports, in which the listeners are informed of anything interesting that may have happened to the singer during the preceding year.
CEDD For instance, the composer of the following song had just

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 14, (A)--Qualyst]

[P. 13, (B)]